## Message Text

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PARM, UN

SUBJECT: US PARTICIPATION IN UN AD HOC COMMITTEE TO REVIEW ROLE OF UN IN FIELD OF DISARMAMENT

REF: USUN 0019 (NOTAL); USUN 45 (NOTAL)

- 1. THE 1975 UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY ESTABLISHED AN AD HOC COMMITTEE TO CONDUCT A "BASIC REVIEW OF THE ROLE OF THE UN IN THE DISARMAMENT FIELD," AND TO SUBMIT "ITS REPORT, INCLUDING FINDINGS AND PROPOSALS," TO THE NEXT UNGA. THE COMMITTEE, WHICH IS OPEN TO ALL UN MEMBERS, WILL HOLD A WEEK-LONG ORGANIZATIONAL SESSION IN NEW YORK BEGINNING JANUARY 26 AND TWO SUBSTANTIVE SESSIONS IN JUNE/JULY (TWO WEEKS) AND SEPTEMBER (ONE WEEK). THE US WILL PARTICIPATE.
- 2. WE ABSTAINED ON THE SWEDISH RESOLUTION (3484B) THAT ESTABLISHED THE COMMITTEE, EXPLAINING THAT WE DID NOT AGREE WITH THE IDEA UNDERLYING THE RESOLUTION THAT MULTI-LATERAL DISARMAMENT EFFORTS WOULD BE FACILITATED BY ADJUST-MENTS IN NEGOTIATING PROCEDURES OR BY ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGES. WE EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT FOCUSING ON SUCH CHANGES COULD RESULT IN UNREALISTIC PROPOSALS THAT WOULD MERELY DIVERT ATTENTION FROM THE REAL PROBLEMS THAT IMPEDE DISARMAMENT AGREEMENTS (E.G., VERIFICATION). WE TOOK NO PUBLIC

POSITION ON THE QUESTION OF US PARTICIPATION IN THE BASIC REVIEW. TO INTERESTED DELEGATIONS, HOWEVER, WE INDICATED THAT OUR DECISION ON PARTICIPATION WOULD DEPEND ON SUCH FACTORS AS THE PARTICIPATION OF OTHER KEY DELEGATIONS AND THE LIKELIHOOD THAT WE COULD, THROUGH PARTICIPATING, INFLUENCE THE COMMITTEE TO DEVELOP A CONSTRUCTIVE REPORT.

3. IT SEEMS CLEAR THAT MAJOR US ALLIES, INCLUDING THE UK AND FRG WHICH JOINED US IN ABSTAINING ON THE RESOLUTION, PLAN TO JOIN THE AD HOC COMMITTEE. THE FRENCH SUPPORTED THE RESOLUTION AND INDICATED THAT THEY WOULD PROBABLY LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PARTICIPATE. THE USSR, ALTHOUGH EXPRESSING EVEN STRONGER RESERVATIONS THAN OURS ABOUT THE RESOLUTION, HAS SUBSEQUENTLY INDICATED PRIVATELY THAT IT EXPECTS TO PARTICIPATE. ON THE OTHER HAND, IT IS WIDELY ANTICIPATED THAT THE PRC, WHICH DID NOT TAKE PART IN THE VOTE ON THE RESOLUTION, WILL NOT PARTICIPATE IN THE COMMITTEE. (A MEMBER OF THE PRC DELEGATION TOLD US PRIVATELY THAT HE DOUBTED THAT THE PRC WOULD PARTICIPATE, "AT LEAST NOT

## AT FIRST.")

- 4. OUR DECISION TO JOIN THE AD HOC COMMITTEE REFLECTS OUR JUDGMENT THAT ITS PROCEEDINGS AND REPORT ARE LIKELY TO HAVE AN IMPACT ON FUTURE MULTILATERAL DISARMAMENT DISCUSSIONS. WHILE WE REMAIN CONVINCED THAT THE OBSTACLES TO RAPID PROGRESS IN DISARMAMENT REFLECT DIFFERENCES IN VIEW OVER MAJOR SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES, AND CANNOT BE OVERCOME BY ADJUSTING PROCEDURES, WE NEVERTHELESS RECOGNIZE THAT CONSIDERATION OF CHANGES IN PRESENT UN DISARMAMENT PROCEDURES COULD BE BENEFICIAL. WE HOPE THAT, THROUGH PARTICIPATING IN THE COMMITTEE, WE CAN EXERT SOME INFLUENCE TOWARD DEVELOPMENT OF A CONSTRUCTIVE REPORT CONTAINING RECOMMENDATIONS FOR MAKING THE UN ROLE IN DISARMAMENT MORE EFFECTIVE AND RESPONSIBLE.
- 5. FYI. WHILE SWEDES APPARENTLY HOPE THAT REVIEW WILL BE CARRIED OUT CAUTIOUSLY AND ALONG MODERATE LINES, OTHER NON-ALIGNED PARTICIPANTS MAY REGARD REVIEW AS OPPORTUNITY NOT SIMPLY TO MAKE MINOR ADJUSTMENTS IN EXISTING UN ORGANS AND PRACTICES, BUT TO DEVISE AN ENTIRELY NEW INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK FOR FUTURE WORK IN MULTILATERAL DISARMAMENT FIELD. FAR-REACHING INSTITUTIONAL CHANGES MAY THEREFORE BE PROPOSED THAT WOULD ELIMINATE SOME OF THE ADVANTAGES THAT PRESENT ARRANGEMENTS GIVE U.S. IN NEGOTIATING MULTILATERAL DISARMAMENT AGREEMENTS. BY PARTICIPATING IN THE REVIEW, WE WILL BE IN A BETTER POSITION TO HEAD OFF OR MODERATE SUCH PROPOSALS. END FYI.
- 6. EMBASSIES EXCEPT STOCKHOLM SHOULD INFORM FOREIGN OFFICES OF OUR INTENTION TO PARTICIPATE IN THE AD HOC COMMITTEE, AND SEEK CONFIRMATION OF OUR IMPRESSION THAT HOST GOVERNMENTS INTEND TO PARTICIPATE. FOREIGN OFFICES LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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SHOULD BE INFORMED THAT WE WOULD BE GLAD TO CONSULT ON SPECIFIC ISSUES LIKELY TO ARISE AT JANUARY 26 MEETING. THIS COULD BE DONE THROUGH DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS; ALTERNATIVELY, WE CAN ARRANGE FOR MEMBERS OF US DELEGATION TO BE AVAILABLE IN NEW YORK SHORTLY BEFORE MEETING. REACTIONS TO APPROACH SHOULD BE REPORTED PROMPTLY INCLUDING ANY INFORMATION ON LEVEL OF HOST GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATION AT ORGANIZATIONAL SESSION. IN DISCUSSING THIS ASPECT, EMBASSIES MAY NOTE THAT US LEVEL OF REPRESENTATION HAS NOT YET BEEN DETERMINED.

7. STOCKHOLM SHOULD INFORM FOREIGN OFFICE OF OUR INTENTION TO PARTICIPATE AND INQUIRE ABOUT SWEDISH PLANS FOR COMMITTEE. WE UNDERSTAND UNDERSECRETARY INGA THORSSON WILL REPRESENT SWEDEN AT JANUARY SESSION, AND WE BELIEVE

SHE WOULD BE APPROPRIATE CHOICE TO CHAIR COMMITTEE IF SHE PLANS TO PARTICIPATE IN SUBSTANTIVE SESSIONS AS WELL. IF SWEDES ARE INTERESTED WE THINK IT COULD BE USEFUL TO HAVE GENERAL EXCHANGE OF VIEWS IN WASHINGTON OR NEW YORK BEFORE JANUARY MEETING.

- 8. USUN SHOULD INFORM UN DISARMAMENT DIVISION (BJOERNERSTEDT) OF US INTENTION TO JOIN COMMITTEE. WE WOULD APPRECIATE ANY INFORMATION SECRETARIAT CAN PROVIDE ON THE LEVEL AND EXTENT OF PARTICIPATION. UN MISSIONS MAY BE INFORMED OF US INTENTIONS AS APPROPRIATE. PLEASE REPORT SIGNIFICANT REACTIONS.
- 9. GENEVA SHOULD NOTIFY DELEGATIONS OF US ALLIES IN CCD. SINCE ALLIED DELEGATIONS MAY BE INVOLVED IN PLANNING FOR JANUARY SESSION, WE WOULD APPRECIATE PROMPT REPORT OF THEIR PLANS OR VIEWS REGARDING REPRESENTATION AND TACTICS. KISSINGER

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